

## Message Text

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ORIGIN PA-02

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-10 IO-10 SAJ-01 ISO-00 PM-03 ACDE-00

USIA-15 PRS-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INR-07

NSAE-00 RSC-01 SS-15 NSC-05 SAM-01 L-02 AEC-07 OES-04

H-02 /099 R

DRAFTED BY PA/M:HSFOSTER/PDENNIS:JC

APPROVED BY PA/M:HSFOSTER

DESIRED DISTRIBUTION

S/AJ, EUR, PM, ACDA, PA, USIA

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P R 312010Z OCT 74

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TO USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA PRIORITY

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INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

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SALT

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: US, PINT, PARM, XG

SUBJECT: AMERICAN PRESS COVERAGE

GENEVA FOR CSCE

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INFO FOR PAOS

1. HIGHLIGHTS. WEDNESDAY PAPERS FEATURED ARAB SUMMIT; FRONTPAGED FORD PRESS CONFERENCE BUT NO HEADLINING OF PRESIDENT'S REMARKS ON ARMS. THURSDAY BALTSUN FRONTPAGES ARMS TREATY CLOSER THAN EVER, ALSO HOLLOWAY SAYS NAVY FLEET TO BE CUT; NYTIMES INSIDE HEADED HOLLOWAY PRESS CONFERENCE, ADMIRAL IS CONFIDENT US NAVY IS MATCH FOR SOVIETS AT SEA. TIMES ALSO HAS PENTAGON REPORTS SOVIET MIRV TEST. LITTLE FRESH COMMENT.

2. PRESIDENT. WEDNESDAY NYTIMES TEXT OF PRESS CONFERENCE REPORTED: Q. MR. PRESIDENT, SINCE SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS BEEN TO MOSCOW, DO YOU HAVE ANY OPTIMISTIC OUTLOOK NOW ON THE SALT AGREEMENT? A. I BELIEVE THAT THE SECRETARY'S DISCUSSIONS WITH GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV WERE VERY CONSTRUCTIVE. SOME OF THE DIFFERENCES, AS I UNDERSTAND IT, BETWEEN THEIR VIEWS AND OURS HAVE BEEN NARROWED. AS A RESULT OF THE PROGRESS THAT WAS MADE IN MOSCOW, THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MADE THAT I WOULD MEET WITH MR. BREZHNEV IN VLADIVOSTOK IN THE LATTER PART OF NOVEMBER. WE HOPE THAT EACH STEP WILL MEAN MORE PROGRESS AND THAT WE WILL END UP

WITH A SALT TWO AGREEMENT.

3. SALT. THURSDAY BALTSUN PARKS MOSCOW REPORTED PARTIES APPEAR CLOSER TO AGREEMENT ON A COMPREHENSIVE TREATY LIMITING STRATEGIC ARMS THAN EVER BEFORE; THE ENVISIONED TREATY WOULD GO WELL BEYOND THE SCOPE OF 1972 AGREEMENTS LIMITING ICBMS AND SUBMARINE MISSILES AND ANTI-MISSILE DEFENSES TO INCLUDE MUCH MORE OF EACH COUNTRY'S STRATEGIC ARSENAL, PARKS ADDING THAT FOR FIRST TIME, IT IS REPORTED IN MOSCOW, THERE IS A SIGNIFICANT POSSIBILITY OF AN AGREEMENT ON ACTUAL REDUCTION, NOT JUST LIMITATION, OF STRATEGIC ARMS. ACCORDING PARKS, BOTH AMERICAN AND SOVIET OFFICIALS TEMPER THEIR OPTIMISM WITH WARNINGS THAT AGREEMENTS ARE IN PRELIMINARY STAGE AND MUCH WORK IS TO BE DONE BEFORE THEY EMERGE AS FORMAL TREATIES. BASIC REASON FOR OPTIMISM IS BREZHNEV-KISSINGER UNDERSTANDING ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE NEW ACCORDS WHICH CONSTITUTE A NEW WORKING HYPOTHESIS THAT WILL BECOME, IF IT BEARS UP UNDER

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CLOSER SCRUTINY BY BOTH SIDES, THE BASIS FOR A NEW ARMS TREATY. PARKS SAYS THIS HYPOTHESIS, WHICH KISSINGER SAID COVERS LIMITATION OF LAND- AND SEA-BASED MISSILES AND LONG-RANGE BOMBER FORCES AND OTHER STRATEGIC WEAPONS, HAS ALREADY PASSED ITS FIRST TEST, PARKS SAYING THAT BOTH SIDES BROUGHT KISSINGER'S PROPOSALS DOWN TO SPECIFIC NUMBERS FOR PERMITTED WEAPONS AND BREZHNEV AFTER CONSULTING TOP MILITARY AND PARTY ADVISERS MADE SOME SPECIFIC

COUNTERPROPOSALS, ACCORDING TO AMERICAN ACCOUNTS OF THE TALKS, ADDING THAT KISSINGER MADE SOME PRELIMINARY COMMENTS AND BOTH SIDES ARE NOW EXAMINING THE PROPOSED PRINCIPLES MORE CLOSELY. IT NOW SEEMS LIKELY, SAYS PARKS, THAT BREZHNEV AND FORD WILL ADOPT THE WORKING HYPOTHESIS IN VLADIVOSTOK AS THE BASIC PRINCIPLE FOR THE NEW ARMS AGREEMENT, AND THE TWO LEADERS WILL AGREE TO ISSUE IDENTICAL INSTRUCTIONS TO SALT NEGOTIATORS IN GENEVA, THIS LIKELY TAKING ABOUT A MONTH. PARKS ADDS THIS IS THE TIMETABLE KISSINGER HAD IN MIND WHEN HE SAID THERE WAS A 50-50 OR REASONABLE CHANCE FOR A TREATY IN 1975, BUT HIS SENIOR ADVISERS SAY KISSINGER IS ACTUALLY MORE OPTIMISTIC THAN THAT, FEELING THAT HE HAS NOW ACHIEVED THE NECESSARY CONCEPTUAL BREAKTHROUGH. UNDER PRESIDENT FORD, SAYS PARK, THE APPROACH ADOPTED LAST SUMMER IN MOSCOW WAS SCRAPPED SINCE IN THE AMERICAN VIEW THE DIFFERENCE IN THE NUMBER OF MISSILE LAUNCHERS THAT WOULD HAVE TO BE ALLOWED EACH SIDE TO OBTAIN AN AGREEMENT WAS TOO LARGE; NOW SOVIET STRATEGIC ANALYSTS SEEM TO SHARE THE AMERICAN VIEW THAT A COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT BASED ON OTHER WEAPONS AS WELL AS MISSILES IS A MORE REALISTIC APPROACH, EVEN THOUGH THE AGREEMENTS ARE MORE DIFFICULT TO NEGOTIATE BECAUSE OF THE COMPLEXITY OF THE

ISSUES INVOLVED. SO THE NEW AGREEMENT WOULD BE MUCH DIFFERENT FROM THE 1970 FIVE-YEAR TREATY LIMITING INTERCONTINENTAL AND SUBMARINE-LAUNCHED MISSILES AND THE 1972 AND 1974 AGREEMENTS LIMITING ANTI-MISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEMS, WHICH WERE BOTH NARROWLY FOCUSED BEGINNINGS, CONTRASTING WITH THE BROADER APPROACH NOW BEING NEGOTIATED, SAYS PARKS, ADDING THAT KISSINGER'S PROPOSALS WERE NOT PARTICULARLY NEW, BUT THE WHOLE PACKAGE WAS PUT TOGETHER IN A NEW AND INTERESTING WAY THAT OFFERED POSSIBILITIES OF NEGOTIATION AND COMPROMISE.

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4. SOVIET TEST. THURSDAY NYTIMES REUTER WASHINGTON REPORTS SOVIET UNION FIRED MULTIPLE WARHEADS IN ITS INTERCONTINENTAL MISSILE TEXT OF SSX-17S LAST WEEK, ACCORDING TO DEFENSE DEPARTMENT'S BEECHER WHO SAID IT HADN'T YET BEEN DETERMINED WHETHER OR NOT THE WARHEADS WERE OF THE MORE EFFECTIVE INDEPENDENTLY GUIDED VARIETY.

5. COMMENT. TUESDAY WASHSTAR HAD EDITORIAL SAYING THAT THE MAJOR CHANGE IN SOVIET THINKING ON NUCLEAR ARMS LIMITATION MAY NOT BE THE CONCEPTUAL BREAKTHROUGH SOUGHT BY KISSINGER, BUT THAT THEIR LATEST IDEAS ARE NOT AS ABSURD AS THEIR EARLIER ONES, A FACT WHICH GIVES KISSINGER HOPE OF REACHING A SECOND-STAGE ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENT NEXT YEAR. PAPER MENTIONS SEVERAL ADDITIONAL REASONS FOR

EXPECTING AN END TO THE DEADLOCK, NAMELY THAT SOVIET LEADERS NOW REALIZE US TECHNOLOGY EXCEEDS THEIR OWN AND THAT IF IT COMES TO AN ALL-OUT ARMS RACE THEY ARE LIKELY TO LOSE, THAT TIME FOR A SECOND-STAGE AGREEMENT IS RUNNING OUT WITH ARMS RACE ALREADY PICKING UP SPEED, AND THAT WITH A NEW ADMINISTRATION IN POWER THE SOVIETS WOULD DO WELL TO NEGOTIATE NOW RATHER THAN WAIT TWO YEARS UNTIL TIME WHEN US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS WILL COMPLICATE THE TALKS.

5A. SATURDAY NYNEWS EDITORIAL TERMED SUCCESSFUL LAUNCH OF AN ICBM FROM A C-5A JET CARGO PLANE A TIMELY RESPONSE TO THE NEW GENERATION OF SILO-BUSTING SOVIET ICBMS, AN ACHIEVEMENT WHICH SHOULD MAKE A DEEP IMPRESSION ON SOVIET LEADERSHIP.

5B. SUNDAY NYNEWS EDITORIAL SHARED SCHLESINGER'S ASSESSMENT THAT US DEFENSES ARE SUFFERING FROM DECLINE AND NEGLECT DUE TO INFLATION AND BUDGET CUTS WHEREAS SOVIETS DEVOTE 20 PERCENT GNP TO MILITARY EXPENSES AND 50 PERCENT OF THAT FOR NEW AND IMPROVED WEAPONRY, FACTS WHICH

PAPER SAYS ARE PUTTING US IN POSITION OF A SECOND-CLASS

MILITARY POWER, A "TEMPTING TARGET FOR MIGHTY FOES BENT ON OUR DESTRUCTION." INGERSOLL  
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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PRESS SUMMARIES, PRESS CONFERENCES, SALT (ARMS CONTROL)  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 31 OCT 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** n/a  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** n/a  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:**  
**Disposition Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1974STATE239600  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** HSFOSTER/PDENNIS:JC  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D740311-1006  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1974/newtext/t1974101/aaaaavi.tel  
**Line Count:** 201  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN PA  
**Original Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** golinofr  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 04 MAR 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <04 MAR 2002 by chappeld>; APPROVED <23 MAY 2002 by golinofr>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** AMERICAN PRESS COVERAGE GENEVA FOR CSCE  
**TAGS:** PINT, PARM, US, XG, (FORD, GERALD R)  
**To:** SALT TALKS GENEVA  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005